

Republican Club



Dinner
held at Belmont's
on the
Eighty-ninth Anniversary
of the Birthday of
Abraham Lincoln
February 12th, 1896.



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100

PROCEEDINGS

AT

THE NINTH ANNUAL DINNER

OF THE

REPUBLICAN
CLUB

OF THE

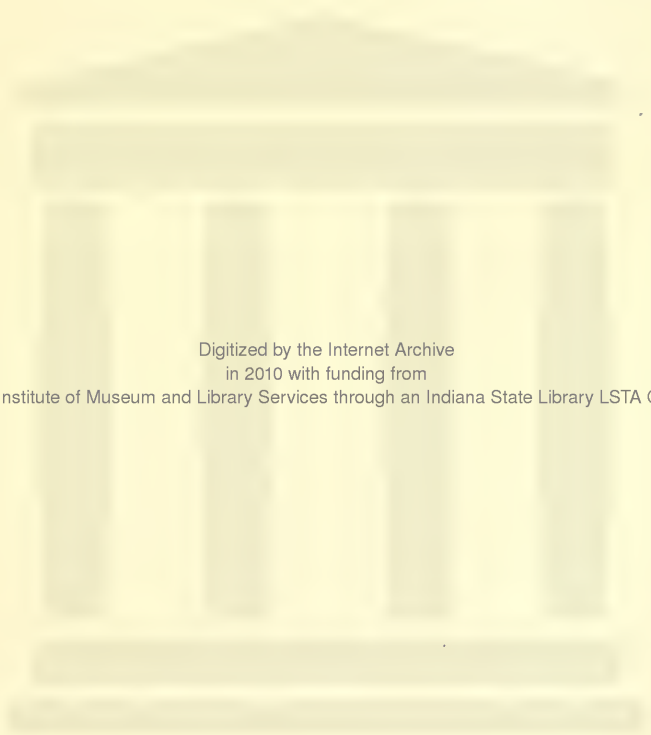
CITY OF NEW YORK

CELEBRATED AT DELMONICO'S ON THE EIGHTY-SIXTH AN-
NIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FEBRUARY 12th, 1895



NEW YORK
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1895



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Republican Club of the City of New York.

Lincoln Dinner.

Delmonico's, February 12, 1893.

George W. English, 25
George W. English (guest), 26
Wilbur F. Wakeman, 27
Wm. C. Roberts, 28
F. A. Laimbeer, 29
Walter B. Tufts, 30
A. C. Astarita, 31
Louis O. Van Doren, 32
A. H. Fischer, 33
Charles B. Bard, 34
C. F. Tietjen, 35
John H. Knapp, 36
Charles P. Licciolo, 37
H. C. Kudlich, 38
C. A. Winch, 39
Julius M. Mayer, 40
Thomas H. Baskerville, 41
Amos Rogers, 42
E. A. Newell, 43
Charles E. Bidwell, 44
Hiram Merritt, 45
Thomas B. Uoderhill, 46
J. R. Tresidder, 47

Dr. J. Clark Thomas.

C. H. T. Collis, 24
J. F. Hitecock, 23
Henry W. Canoon, 22
J. L. Wandling, 21
Henry C. Post, 20
Wm. Felsing, 19
Wm. N. Este, 18
Daniel Lewis, 17
Donald McLean, 16
George C. Miller, 15
L. L. Van Allen, 14
I. Albert Englehart, 13
A. C. Chase, 12
A. M. Chase, 11
Wm. B. Dunning, 10
David S. Walton, 9
George P. Olcott, 8
Henry V. Parsell, 7
Edward B. Sturges, Jr., 6
C. Edgar Sotphen, 5
John E. Howell, 4
Joseph Coult, 3
G. A. Morrison, 2

Edward Lauterbach.

Samuel P. Avery, 21
Wm. D. Murphy, 22
Addison B. Atkins, 23
Wm. H. Butcheller, 24
Geo. Clinton Butcheller, 25
David K. Miller, 26
Abram B. Knapp, 27
E. C. O'Brien, 28
R. C. Shannon, 29
Arthur F. Bowers, 30
Wm. H. Porter, 31
A. B. Hepburn, 32
Wm. R. Wornall, 33
Wm. G. Parke, 34
Edward B. Sturges, Jr., 35
E. H. Benn, 36
J. Henry Dreyes, 37
Charles F. Rose, 38
Wm. N. Cohen, 39

B

Hamilton B. Bogue, 20
Wm. Newton Adams, 19
Wm. C. Kellogg, 18
Walter Mason, 17
Wm. H. Rockfellow, 16
Freeman D. Marckwald, 15
Alfred D. Becken, 14
Louis Stern, 13
Benjamin Stern, 12
J. G. Kugelmann, 11
Alex. T. Mason, 9
Frederick Billings, 8
Wm. H. Perkins, 7
R. T. McCabe, 6
W. B. Cogswell, 5
T. Astley Atkins, 4
James W. Perry, 3
Henry E. Stevens, 2

C

Dr. D. Stanley Lycos, 21
E. B. Coodon, 22
Wm. Brookfield, 23
Henry M. Brookfield, 24
Samuel Thomas, 25
Cornelius N. Bliss, 26
S. V. R. Cruger, 27
James A. Blanebard, 28
Henry H. Adams, 29
Jra M. Hedges, 30
Commodore P. Vedder, 31
John D. Morris, 32
C. Y. Wemple, 33
J. Hunt Smith, 34
R. T. McCabe, 35
Stephen Penbody, 36
John L. Lamson, 37
A. B. Plough, 38
George C. Renvee, 39

James S. Lehman.

James P. Foster, 20
Edward Schenck, 19
Montimore C. Addoms, 18
Alfred R. Conkling, 17
Howard Conkling, 16
John K. Cilley, 15
John K. Cilley (guest), 14
P. Bradley Strong, 13
A. R. Shattuck, 12
Samuel B. Clarke, 11
John Hubbard, 10
Thomas H. Hubbard, 9
A. G. McCook, 8
B. B. McAlpin, 7
Robert Driscoll, Jr., 6
Carl Fisher Hausen, 5
Pierre J. Smith, 4
Pierre J. Smith (guest), 3
John T. Lockman, 2

GUEST TABLE.

John Sabine Smith, 21
James W. Auten, 22
Dr. E. F. Brush, 23
James P. Hayes, 24
Benj. L. Fairchild, 25
Benj. L. Fairchild (guest), 26
C. C. Cuyler, 27
Morris K. Jessup, 28
Job. E. Hedges, 29
Britton Richardson, 30
Charles F. Homer, 31
Albert Tilt, 32
Albert Tilt (guest), 33
C. Lambert, 34
Wm. J. Bogart, 35
George R. Fitch, 36
R. P. Chandler, 37
R. P. Chandler (guest), 38
Wm. J. Enston, 39

D

Henry Gleason, 20
T. C. Platt, 19
P. C. Lonsbury, 18
George H. Wooster, 17
E. B. Harper, 16
F. A. Burnham, 15
Frank R. Crumie, 14
S. M. Milliken, 13
Mr. Brewster, 12
Frank Cheney, 11
Frank Cheney (guest), 10
Reid A. Katha, 9
Jacques Huber, 8
W. H. Simonson, 7
Sidney H. Stuart, 6
George H. Stover, 5
Charles H. Loring, 4
Wm. H. Bailey, 3
Charles P. Lattig, 2

Arthur L. Merriam

A. H. Gleason, 21
Henry Elliott, 22
Bradford Rhodes, 23
Edwin C. Ray, 24
E. M. F. Miller, 25
M. H. Elkin, 26
W. E. Clark, 27
Charles H. Patrick, 28
James W. Hawes, 29
Wm. L. Findlay, 30
Meyer S. Bernheimer, 31
R. W. Bloomingdale, 32
John Proctor Clarke, 33
John W. Jacobus, 34
Brace Hayden, 35
John F. Baker, 36
C. C. Shayne, 37
George E. Adams, 38
A. H. Steele, 39

E

Edmund Wetmore, 20
George E. Adams, 19
Emilio Del Pino, 18
John H. Ives, 17
Joseph M. Deuel, 16
Henry L. Einstein, 15
Julius Weil, 14
Wm. Henry, 13
Alfred B. Price, 12
J. A. Greene, 11
Charles R. Skinner, 10
Henry T. Ambrose, 9
Samuel G. French, 8
Wm. H. Hume, 7
Dr. W. A. Hume, 6
Henry M. Hume, 5
Joseph Ulman, 4
Simson Wolf, 3
Sol. Kohn, 2

Charles H. Dennison.

Philip Carpenter, 27
Charles N. Tanton, 28
Morris J. Hirsch, 29
Louis Marshall, 30
Wardley Platch, 31
E. A. Sumner, 32
Rosa Rowland, 33
Robert Adams, 34
George W. Weld, 25
Edwin Tucker, 26
George West, 27
Stephen W. Roach, 28
Charles B. Page, 29
C. E. Roseb, 31
Rev. George Clover, 32
John H. Wood, 33
Fred. H. Page, 34
Charles H. Page, 35
George H. Page, 36
A. Blumenstiel, 37
Hugo Meyer, 38
Felix Meyer, 39
A. Cryan, 40
Emil Rinke, 41
C. C. Browne, 42
H. A. Matthews, 43
Abraham Gruber, 44
Thomas A. Gardner, 45
Dr. G. Buckingham Smith, 46
J. P. Marshall, 47

Henry R. Dentil,

Dr. Robert A. Murray, 24
Dr. D. K. Tutbill, 23
George J. Seabury, 22
Dr. D. H. Lewis, 21
Henry Dailey, Jr., 20
John H. Clapp, 19
Isaac N. Mills, 18
James H. Moran, 17
Charles P. Sherwin, 16
Samuel C. Miller, 15
Odle J. Whitlock, 14
Charles H. Getman, 13
Wm. H. Judd, 12
J. E. Mitholland, 11
Samuel S. Stewart, 9
James N. Walker, 8
Edward C. Jones, 7
Edward C. Jones (guest), 6
Wm. Babcock, 5
George W. Stephen, 4
Otto Irving Wise, 3
Otto Irving Wise (guest), 2

Mr. Frank B. Carpenter,
Hon. Nelson Dingley, Jr.,
Rev. Abbott E. Kittredge, D. D.
Hon. Wm. L. Strong,
Senator John M. Thurston.
Hon. Ellihu Root, President
Senator J. C. Burrows,
Senator S. R. Ellins
Hon. J. Sloat Fassett,
Hon. L. E. Chittenden,
Rev. Edwin C. Bolles, D. D.
Mr. George McNier.

United Press (Associated Telegrams),
17 STENOGRAPHERS,
16 Evening Post,
15 Commercial Advertiser,
14 Mail and Express,
13 Sun,
12 Reserved,
11 Reserved,
10 Reserved,
9 James R. Doudge,
8 Amasa Thornton,
7 James Paulino, Jr.,
6 Edwin Thornton,
5 T. St. John Gaffney,
4 H. Bascomb Smith,
3 George Hayes,
2 Joseph Corbet,
1 Wm. Rowland.



THE FIRST READING OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION BEFORE THE CABINET.

By kind permission of the artist,
MR. FRANK B. CARPENTER.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EMANCIPATOR

MARTYR

BORN FEBRUARY 12TH, 1809

ADMITTED TO THE BAR 1837

ELECTED TO CONGRESS 1846

ELECTED
SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER, 1860

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
JANUARY 1ST, 1863

RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER, 1864

ASSASSINATED, APRIL 14TH, 1865

OFFICERS, 1895.

ELIHU ROOT, PRESIDENT.

VICE-PRESIDENTS,

EDWARD LAUTERBACH, HENRY R. DE MILT,
CHARLES H. DENNISON.

SECRETARIES,

ALEXANDER T. MASON, WALTER B. TUFTS,
Recording Secretary. *Corresponding Secretary.*

TREASURER,

J. EDGAR LEAYCRAFT.

LINCOLN DINNER COMMITTEE.

HENRY GLEASON, CHAIRMAN,

JOHN SABINE SMITH, JAMES P. FOSTER,
EDMUND WETMORE, C. H. T. COLLIS,
E. B. HARPER, ELIHU ROOT, *Ex-Officio*,

WILLIAM D. MURPHY,
SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

INVITED GUESTS.

Senator John M. Thurston,	Senator J. S. Morrill,
Honorable Nelson Dingley, Jr.,	Senator Frederick Dubois,
Senator Julius C. Burrows,	Senator Thomas H. Carter,
Honorable J. Sloat Fassett,	Honorable Joseph H. Manley,
Reverend Edwin C. Bolles, D.D.,	Honorable Henry A. Haigh,
Governor Morton,	George McNier, Esq.,
Lieut. Governor Saxton,	Judge John M. Harlan,
Mayor Strong,	Governor McIntire, of Colorado,
Honorable Chauncey M. Depew,	Governor Coffin, of Connecticut,
Honorable Robert T. Lincoln,	Governor Marvil, of Delaware,
Honorable Joseph H. Choate,	Governor McConnell, of Idaho,
Honorable Hamilton Fish,	Governor Jackson, of Iowa,
Mayor Charles A. Schieren,	Governor Morrill, of Kansas,
Reverend Abbott E. Kittredge, D.D.	Governor Cleaves, of Maine,
General Nelson A. Miles,	Governor Greenhalge, of Massachusetts,
Commodore Montgomery Sicard,	Governor Rich, of Michigan.
Honorable Sereno E. Paine,	Governor Nelson, of Minnesota,
Honorable James W. Wadsworth,	Governor Rickards, of Montana,
Honorable John Dalzell,	Governor Holcomb, of Nebraska,
Honorable Thomas B. Reed,	Governor Busiel, of New Hampshire,
Reverend Morgan Dix, D.D.,	Governor Allin, of North Dakota,
General Horace Porter,	Governor McKinley, of Ohio,
Honorable Arthur F. Bowers,	Governor Lord, of Oregon,
Honorable Benjamin Harrison,	Governor Hastings, of Pennsylvania,
Honorable Benjamin F. Tracey,	Governor Brown, of Rhode Island,
Honorable Edwin S. Stuart,	Governor Sheldon, of South Dakota,
Honorable J. B. Foraker,	Governor Evans, of Tennessee,
Frank B. Carpenter, Esq.,	Governor Woodbury, of Vermont,
Honorable L. E. Chittenden,	Governor McGraw, of Washington,
Senator John Sherman,	Governor Upham, of Wisconsin,
Governor Richards, of Wyoming.	

MENU.

HUÎTRES

Potages

CONSOMMÉ, PARIATENSKI

CRÈME D'ASPERGES

Bors d'œuvre

Palmettes à la Clinton

Poisson

AIGUILLETES DE BASS AU GRATIN

Pommes de terre, Duchesse

Relevé

FILETS DE BOEUF AUX OLIVES FARCIES

Choux de Bruxelles

Entrées

DINDE À LA LYONNAISE

Petits pois, Parisienne

RIS DE VEAU, GRAMMONT

Haricots verts

SORBET: RÉGENCE

Roti

CANARDS Á TÊTE ROUGE

Froid

PÂTÉ DE FOIES GRAS À LA GELEÉ

Salade de laitue

Entremets de douceur

Pommes à la Seymour

GLACES FANTAISIES

Fruits

Petits fours

Café

TOASTS AND SPEAKERS.

ELIHU ROOT, PRESIDENT.

1. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, - - SENATOR JOHN M. THURSTON.

"With malice towards none, with charity for all."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

2. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, - HON. NELSON DINGLEY, JR.

"I am against letting down the Republican Standard the breadth of a single hair."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

3. PROTECTION, - - - - SENATOR JULIUS C. BURROWS.

"A tariff of duties on imported goods, producing sufficient revenue for the payment of the necessary expenditures of the National Government, and so adjusted as to protect American Industry, is indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the American people."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

4. THE STATE OF NEW YORK, - HON. J. SLOAT FASSET.

"Our safety, and the safety all of the States, depends upon all acting in good faith and living up to that great principle which asserts the right of every people to regulate their own institutions to suit themselves, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

5. PULPIT, PATRIOTS
AND THE WAR, - - REV. EDWIN C. BOLLES, D.D.

"The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

DINNER

OF THE

REPUBLICAN CLUB.

THE Ninth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of the Eighty-sixth Anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, held at Delmonico's, New York, February, 12th, 1895.

The Honorable Elihu Root, President, presiding.

The Rev. Dr. Abbott E. Kittredge, offered the following prayer:

We thank Thee, our Heavenly Father, for all Thy kindness to us, for Thy precious promises to us as individuals, and Thy kindness to us as a Nation, and for all our civil and religious liberties; and for all the great and good men whose lives are indeed our most precious heritage. We thank Thee especially for him whose birthday we celebrate to-night. We thank Thee that Thou didst raise up in Thy goodness the man for the time, by whose wisdom and prudence and charity and benevolence and firmness our country was preserved from dismemberment, and the dark stain of slavery was abolished from the pages of our history. Help us to be unselfish in seeking the interests of our dear land, and especially, Lord, give wisdom and strength to those who are banded together to bring back our dear country into financial and moral prosperity.

Grant us Thy blessing this evening. Pardon our sins, and bring us at last, no one missing, to our heavenly home. We ask it in His name, who has taught us all as little children to say:

Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE PRESIDENT:

It is an honor and a pleasure which seldom comes to any man to welcome, in behalf of this great Republican organization, as in your names, gentlemen of the Republican Club of the City of New York, I now welcome the distinguished guests who honor us with their presence this evening. (Applause). It is with deep gratification and personal pride that we see at our board the Senators of the United States, to whom we look for wise legislation and for a manly and able maintenance of the principles of the Republican party, the domination of which the country so much needs. It is with more than mere pleasure that we welcome the clergymen and guests from the interior of the State, from all the different States of the Union, who have come to join with us in commemorating the birth of the great Republican of the troublous days of the civil war (applause), and it is with pleasure, and with pride and with hope, all combined, that we greet as our friend, our Mayor. (Cheers and applause.)

We realize, gentlemen, that the fame and the memory of Abraham Lincoln belong to all the people of this great and prosperous land. (Applause). Every one on this broad continent feels the beneficent effect of his genius, and has entered into the enjoyment of his sacrifices. His broad sympathies touched every class and condition of this great people. No one so rich or so poor, no one so wise, or so foolish, no one so proud or so humble, that the great heart of Abraham Lincoln did not beat in unison with his. (Applause.) To the humblest slave and the proudest scholar; to the poorest workman, and the greatest possessor of wealth; to the most selfish struggler after gain, and to the most devoted and self-sacrificing servant of his fellow-

men, that broad and keen and gentle insight and sympathy of Abraham Lincoln went alike. (Applause.) We are all the inheritors of his fame; we are all the possessors of inestimable privileges which came from his achievements. And not the people of this country alone, but all those who love justice and law, and the rule of order and peace among men, and freedom and the uplifting of the oppressed, and human rights, and the coming of a better day, and the advancement of God's kingdom upon earth, all the world over, are with us equally the inheritors of that fame and entitled with us to draw about his bier and join in mourning the martyrdom which crowned his achievements and his sacrifices, as Calvary crowned the wearisome journey beneath the cross. (Great applause and cheers.) Not alone to this day belongs that fame, but to all future generations. So great were the benefits he conferred upon mankind, so great were the issues which his supreme personality determined, that from generation to generation, so long as history is written and the great men of the earth are revered, so long, will the name and fame of Abraham Lincoln continue. (Applause.) Yet we have taken upon ourselves for these many years past now to invite our fellow citizens to meet with us and do honor to his memory. Why do we do it? Because this is distinctively an organization of the men of the party of Lincoln. (Applause.) We are distinctly, purely and solely a Republican organization. Granting all good to other organizations, fully realizing the worth and the services of the countless organizations of our fellow citizens under other flags, who by other means seek to benefit their fellow men, we have marked out for ourselves distinctly the course of seeking to give effect to our patriotism, of seeking to elevate our beloved country, of seeking to purify the politics and the social life of our community, through the organization, the activity, the improvement and the efficacy of the great Republican party, of which Lincoln was the first and greatest leader. (Applause.) It is because, gentlemen, this is distinctively the Republican organization of this great City, that within these walls we ask you to meet with us and do honor to Lincoln. It is the same party, its atoms have changed; many a rank of the old standard bearers of the party have passed over to the other side; many a generation of younger men have come into its ranks, but it is the same party still.

It is the same party which cheered him on in that immortal debate with Douglass. The same party that chose him from all its sons for the great struggle which brought on the conclusive decision between slavery and freedom. The same party which elected him as its first President. The same party which watched over him and followed him with its prayers and hopes in his first journey from his home in the West to Washington, when bloodthirsty foes lay in wait to take his life. The same party that held up his hands during all his trials and struggles. The same party that re-elected him and stamped down and out the cry that the war was a failure. The same party that stood about his bier after the deep damnation of his taking off. The same party that received the legacy of his noble thoughts and intentions for the welfare of our people, and administered them as a sacred trust. The same party which has been ever inspired by his spirit, and done reverence to his memory. (Applause.)

The lily bends its head to earth, the rose lifts up its face resplendent to the sky for causes not to be found in the bud whence the flower came, not to be found in the root from which grew the plant, not to be found in the seed which fructified in the soil, but which reach far back through the ages to the original differentiations of the species. And back through the ages of struggle for freedom, for good government, for truth, for justice, the principles are to be found, the principles from which developed this great Republican party, and from which was born, from which received life and strength and development the greatest exemplar of the principles of that party, Abraham Lincoln. The party is the same, I say, though camp followers may do it injustice in the minds of a thoughtless public by wanton spoil and outrage: the selfish and self-seeking may for a time grasp its mace of power and turn its energies toward their own aggrandisement: sections of its members may at times wander off to false doctrines and heresy; but after all, and through all, the sober sense, the deep patriotism, the honest love of country of the great Republican party remains the same, and will throw them all aside, and do honor and justice to the rights of man and the welfare of our country. (Cheers and prolonged applause.) And so it is fitting, is it not, that we who are of his own household, the

inheritors of his principles, the members of the party which he loved and which sustained and honored him in his life, should take upon ourselves the proud office of asking our friends to gather, and to renew in the hearts of men for the honor and glory of our country the love of the memory of Abraham Lincoln? (Applause.)

Of him I will say as said Gudrun in that immortal lament over the body of the Norse chieftain, "As is the king leek above the grass of the field: as is the gleed red gold above grey silver, so is Sigurd among the sons of Giuke."

Abraham Lincoln: Our hearts bow down in happy reverence thankful that he has lived, blessing his memory, and only asking that we may be worthy to do honor to him. What more can an American ask than to be worthy of such a company, and to bear upon his lips such a name? (Applause.)

The first regular toast, a toast which is becoming and will ever be time honored, was to have been answered to-night by that true and faithful Republican, that worthy disciple and follower of Lincoln, our own fellow-townsmen, Joseph H. Choate. The sad pressure of family affliction has made it impossible that he should join us in this scene of festivity. I know in the retirement of his own home, his heart joins with ours in all the deeper and more solemn emotions which befit this occasion. In his place, we have been exceedingly fortunate in securing at a late day, the representation of this great sentiment by one of the best of the West, which Lincoln brought to the true knowledge of the men of the East, and the toast of Abraham Lincoln with that immortal sentiment: "With malice towards none and with charity for all," will be responded to by Senator Thurston of Nebraska. (Loud cheers and prolonged applause.)



ADDRESS OF SENATOR THURSTON.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN :

"With malice towards none, with charity for all."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MR. TOAST MASTER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE REPUBLICAN CLUB :

In the days of Abraham Lincoln a deserter or a conscript was not received with favor. I am both. (Laughter.) I enlisted for a Michigan banquet, and I find myself drafted in New York. (Laughter.) To the charge of desertion I plead detention by imperative professional duty. As a drafted man I throw myself upon the mercy of the Court. (Laughter.) I have already disappointed one magnificent audience, and am about to disappoint another. (Laughter.) I say it, advisedly, for you coming here to sit at the feet of a master, find only a humble disciple of that great lawyer, orator and logician, whose place upon your program no living man can adequately fill. (Applause.) I am from the regenerated West (laughter), where the bison and the Populist no longer bellow and cavort (laughter and applause), where fusion is confused, and where the political ragtag and bobtail have taken to the woods. The West is once more Republican and American. (Great applause.) Strong in the knowledge of her growing power, her coming empire, she leaves sectionalism and provincialism for those who educate their children, spend their vacations and receive their political ideas abroad. This mighty West has furnished all the Republican Presidents and some of the statesmen of the country, and I assure you that the supply of raw material is not exhausted yet. (Laughter and Applause.) We shall offer you the best we have in 1896. (Cries of "Good!" and applause.) But the people of the West are not patriots for office. Their Republicanism does not depend upon the location of candidates, and the nominee of the next National

Convention will receive the vote of every Western state in this country. (Great applause.) We will stand by our farms and our mines, but not to the injury of the commerce or the capital of the East. (Cries of "Good!" "Good!" and applause.)

I love my State, her sturdy people, her matchless progress, her growing industries, her thriving cities, her mellow sunshine, yea, her mighty storms, but I love my country first. (Applause.) Nebraska put one star in the azure of the flag and New York put another, but when they took their places in that flag, they were no longer the stars of New York and Nebraska, but stars of the mightiest nation of the earth, shining for the protection and prosperity of every American citizen. (Applause.)

I am commissioned to-night to speak of Abraham Lincoln, the simplest, sweetest, saintliest, sublimest character of the age. (Applause.) Sixty million free people join with us in commemoration of his birth, yet he wielded no sceptre and wore no crown; but in his life he exercised greater powers, called into existence grander armies, and won for his country and humanity grander victories than any who preceded him upon the earth, and in his death he reached to the full stature of immortal fame. (Applause.)

It is not my purpose to-night to review the life of Abraham Lincoln, for that is a part of the history of our country. That history remains with all loyal men, it is emblazoned upon the Nation's battle flags; it speaks from silent lips; it lingers in the shadow of desolate lives; yea, and it blooms in beauty above the sacred dust of those who fell by river and by sea. It should be cherished in every public school; it should be preached from every Christian pulpit; it should be honored, venerated, loved, wherever liberty is dear to man. (Applause.)

I shall refer to-night to only one event in the public career of Abraham Lincoln, but the happening of that event was the harbinger of a new civilization, the dawn of a new epoch in human affairs. Not long since, as I sat in a crowded court room engaged in the trial of a case involving the title to a valuable tract of real estate, when there came to the witness stand a venerable white-haired negro. Written all over his old, black face was the history of three quarters of a century of such an existence as few persons have ever known. Born a slave, he

had stood upon the auction block and been sold to the highest bidder; he had seen his wife and children dragged from his side by those who mocked his breaking heart; he bore upon his back the scars and ridges of a master's lash. When asked his age he drew himself proudly up and said for fifty years I was a chattel; on the first day of January, 1863, Old Uncle Abe made me a man. (Loud applause.)

The act which set that old man free was the crowning glory of Lincoln's life, for by it he not only saved a nation, but emancipated a race.

We of the Anglo Saxon tongue are justly proud of Magna Charta, that great constitutional enactment, set up by the Barons of Runnymede against the unlimited exercise of Kingly power. We are justly proud of the Declaration of Independence, that first complete written assertion of the equality of men, and the right of government by the people. The genesis of American liberty was in the Declaration of Independence, but the gospel of its new testament was written by Abraham Lincoln in the Emancipation Proclamation. (Applause and cheers.) And the Magna Charta of man's real freedom and equality is the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. (Prolonged applause.)

I am a believer in the overruling providence of Almighty God. I cannot so far belittle the miracle of my own existence and the incomprehensible splendors of the universe as for a moment to believe that came of chance. What thoughtful student of history can deny that this continent of ours has been under the guidance of an especial Providence, which kept it through all the ages of early man until the civilization of the Old World had grown and expanded and was ready for transposition to the new; which put the preposterous idea of a round world into the quickened brain of the Genoese sailor; it gave him courage to go from Court to Court until his prayer was answered by the sympathetic queen. It filled his sail with favoring breezes, stood at the helm and guided his ship aright; when he landed on the unknown strand, he had raised above him the great white cross of a Saviour's love, the emblem of immortal hope.

Columbus, Washington, Lincoln, Grant; (Cheers and applause.) Discoverer, Father, Preserver, Hero. Did chance

select them each for his glorious work so gloriously performed? Let the fool answer how he will, I prefer to see the finger of Divine design. (Applause.) The rail splitter of Illinois, became the President of the Republic in the darkest hour of our history. Inexperienced and untried in public affairs, he originated national policies, overruled statesmen, directed armies, removed generals, and when it became necessary to save the nation gave a new interpretation to the Constitution of the United States. He amazed politicians and offended the leaders of his own party, but the people from whom he sprang trusted him blindly, and followed him by instinct. The child leads the blind, not by greater strength or intelligence, but by certainty of vision. Abraham Lincoln was above the clouds and stood in the clear sunshine of Heaven's indicated will.

So stands the mountain,
While the murky shadows thicken at its base;
Beset by the tempests, lashed by the storm,
Darkness and desolation on every side;
No ray of hope in the lightnings lurid lances,
No voice of safety in the crashing thunder bolt,
But high above the topmost mist,
Vexed by no wave of angry sound;
Kissed by the sun of day, wooed by the stars of night,
The eternal summit lifts its sunny crest
Crowned with the infinite serenity of peace.

God said let there be light, and there was light: Light on the ocean, light on the land. God said let there be light, and there was light: light on Calvary, light for the souls of men. God said let there be light and there was light: light on the Emancipation Proclamation, light on the honor of the nation, light on the Constitution of the United States, light on the black faces of patient bondsmen, light on every standard of liberty throughout the world. (Cheers and prolonged applause.)

Divine justice would not permit that the nation should be preserved under a constitution which meant the perpetuation of human slavery. The careful student of that great conflict readily discovers that up to the time of the Emancipation Proclamation, the doubtful tide of battle set most strongly against the Union shore, reverse followed reverse until the

boasting host of the Confederacy seemed apt to make their declaration good that they would proclaim the Confederate government from the steps of the National Capitol. But from the hour when the cause of the Union became the cause of humanity; from the hour when the flag of the Republic became the flag of liberty; from the hour when its stars and stripes no longer floated above a slave; yea, from the sacred hour of the Nation's new birth, that dear banner never faded from the sky, and the brave boys who bore it never wavered in their onward march to victory.

With the single exception of Chancellorsville, and that stubborn, doubtful day at Chickamauga, no decisive field of battle was ever lost by the men who sang with double enthusiasm:

"John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,
"But his soul goes marching on."

From the Potomac to the Shenandoah, from Chattanooga to the sea, the war-worn, battle-scarred veterans took new hope, touched elbows with a new courage, saw in each other's eyes a new fire. Sang with a new inspiration that glorious anthem:

"In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea,
"With the glory in His bosom that transfigures you and me.
"As He died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
"For God is marching on."

(Cries of "Good!" "Good!" and cheers.)

The blue and the gray lie in eternal slumber side by side, heroes all; they fell face to face, brother against brother, to expiate a Nation's sin. The lonely fireside, the unknown graves, the memory of the loved, the yearning for the lost, desolated altars and the broken hopes are above recall. The wings of our weak prejudices beat in vain against the iron doors of fate, and through the mingled tears, that fall alike upon the honored dead of both North and South turn hopeful eyes to that new future of prosperity and power, only possible under the shelter of the dear old flag. (Cheers and applause.) To the North and the South; the master and the slave; the white man and the black, Abraham Lincoln was God's providence.

What is the heritage to us? Lincoln on the immortal field of Gettysburg, said "A government of the people by the people, for the people." A government of the people so broad that it covers land, home and liberty to the down-trodden and oppressed of all the earth, so strong, that the sheathed swords of its citizen soldiery need never again be drawn to protect it from foes without or dissensions within; so liberal that in its sky the star of every faith may find a place and by its altars individual conscience fears neither Church nor State; so well beloved that the bright bayonet does honor in every American hand, and the certain bulwark of its liberty in every American heart. (Great applause.)

A government by the people in which the unit of political power is individual citizenship. Government of the people is organized to protect the weak against oppression by the strong, to protect the poor against unjust exaction by the rich, to protect the ignorant from the subtleties of the learned. The ballot box is the safety of a people's government and of the United States of America. (Applause.) That government that will not protect its citizens in the exercise of their highest privilege of citizenship should not be permitted to cumber the earth. God's justice will mark it for destruction as it has marked other nations for lesser crimes.

• What we need in this country is the Emancipation Proclamation and the stars and stripes at every polling-place. We need a revival of the American flag. Let it float over every American school-house; let the true story of every American battle field be taught in every public school. Set the stars of the Union in the hearts of our children, and the glory of the Republic will remain forever. It does not matter whether the American cradle is rocked to the music of "Yankee Doodle" or the lullaby of "Dixie," if the flag of the Nation is displayed above it, and the American baby can be safely trusted to pull about the floor the rusty scabbard and the battered canteen, whether the inheritance be from blue or gray, if from the breast of a true mother and the lips of a brave father its little soul is filled with the glory of the American constellation. (Applause.)

A government for the people, for the American people; not for those alone of native birth, but for the men who will

loyally and in good faith subscribe to the Constitution of the United States and obey the laws of the land. (Applause.) Every man who loved our country well enough to fight for it, if need be to die for it; every man who loved it well enough to bid good bye to his native land, look for the last time on the graves of the loved ones, and chance himself to the ocean and the unknown shore beyond in the hope of securing to himself and children liberty and opportunity, is worthy of American citizenship and to participate in the best government on the earth. (Applause.)

Open the gates of Castle Garden wide to every God-fearing, liberty-loving, law-abiding, labor-seeking, decent man. (Applause.) But close them at once and forever upon all whose birth, whose policy, whose teachings, whose practices would endanger the safety of American labor. (Cheers and cries of "Good! Good!")

It is related that in Pittsburgh, on the night of the last election after the returns had made it certain that the country had gone Republican, that two hard-handed working-men clothed in their working blouses, climbed to the top of a smokeless chimney and there, in the glare of the city's electric light, nailed to it an American flag, and, when the morning sunshine blessed the earth, it kindled the waves of that dear old flag with glory. That flag on that dismantled chimney meant that prosperity would come back to the United States with the triumph of the Republican party. It meant that whatever labor is to be done for the people of the United States shall be done by the people of the United States under the stars and stripes. (Cheers.) It meant that the hope of the common people, the salvation of American labor, the permanency of American institutions, is only safe with the party of Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.) And this government of the people shall not perish from the earth. Our Nation has stood for twelve decades, a menace to oppression and hope for the oppressed. Mother of Republics—her lullaby is sung over every cradle of liberty throughout the world. The last throne has disappeared from the Western Continent, and the conscience of the twentieth century will not tolerate a crown.

On Freedom's scroll of honor the name of Abraham Lincoln is written first. The colossal statue of his fame stands

forever on the pedestal of a people's love. About it are the upturned, glorified faces of an emancipated race; in its protecting shadow, liberty, equal rights and justice is the heritage of every American citizen. The sunshine of approving Heaven rests upon it like an infinite benediction, and over it calmly floats the unconquered flag of the greatest Nation on the earth. (Cheers and prolonged applause.)



ADDRESS OF CONGRESSMAN DINGLEY.

THE PRESIDENT:

We were a seaboard nation; the sea bore our fathers to these shores; upon the borders of the sea our fathers learned that independence, that courage and the daring which gave to the infant colonies of America the power to resist the oppression of England and made the Rebellion possible. When our infant Republic had fallen into such low estate in the esteem of the diplomatists of Europe that they cherished once again the hope of restoring us to subserviency upon the sea, the sailors of America carried the stars and stripes through those bloody labor conflicts which taught England that America was still to be respected. The conspiracy which evoked for our salvation the genius of Lincoln swept from the sea American commerce and drove from his occupation the American sailor. For the revival of that commerce, for the leadership in placing the American sailor once again at the forefront of that daring trade, for recovering every sea with the American flag and sending our commerce again to every shore we must look first and foremost to the great old ship building and sea-faring State of Maine. (Applause.) First and foremost in leadership in the highest legislation by which the Republican party has sought this great and hoped for restoration, is to be found the name, and are to be ranked the services of the Honorable Nelson Dingley, Jr., of Maine. (Great applause.) He will respond to the next regular toast—"The Republican Party"—"I am against letting down the Republican standard the breadth of a single hair," as the men of Maine have always been against letting down the standard of America from the mast, no matter what the duties or what the fate that awaited the stubborn resistance of the American sailor.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY:

"I am against letting down the Republican Standard the breadth of a single hair."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

As I look around on this assemblage of representative Republicans I feel that it is a good thing to be here. I see in the play of your countenances abundant evidence that this is a Republican year, even in New York City. (Laughter.) And when Republican principles are recognized as the hope of the country in a city heretofore overwhelmingly Democratic, words of eulogy may give place to actual triumph. You invited me, Mr. President, if I interpret correctly your invitation, to respond to the toast of the "Republican Party—Fidelity to its principles, a duty and a pleasure." This, Mr. President, is a sentiment pronounced by the great leader of the Republican party, whose birthday we celebrate here to-night. With him, so say we all; so said the Empire State last November (applause); so said the whole country in the recent election; and if the present Democratic party as represented in Congress should continue in session for another year, we may congratulate ourselves and the country that this visitation is soon to cease. The Republican party would win in the election of 1896, almost by acclamation. (Laughter.) That genuinely Texan Democrat, Col. Kilgore, replying to the appeal of a fair claimant that he would surrender his opposition to her pending claim bill, who said to him that she had prayed the Lord that his heart might be softened, is said to have excitedly exclaimed: "Madam, the Lord hasn't a quorum in this house." (Laughter.) Whether this explains the sins of commission and of omission of the present Democratic Congress I will not undertake to say. But the elections of November, as I have already said, were a great Republican triumph, and why should they not have been thus after the object lesson experience which the country has had during the past two years. We have all had the benefits of that attendance on a Democratic kindergarten on a large scale. The object lesson has been the contrast of the Nation under Republican policy for thirty-two years, fidelity to Republican principles, with the Nation under anticipated or realized Democratic policy, infidelity to Republican principles. The tuition in this school has come very high (laughter), but no

people on the face of the earth have learned so much in so short a time. (Laughter and applause.) They have learned how grossly they were deceived in 1892. They have discovered, as Josh Billings quaintly remarked, "That it is better not to know so many things, than to know so many things that aint true." (Laughter.) The Free-traders who stood upon the platform in 1892, and proclaimed their doctrines or their theories, are at a discount to-day. The people of this country have learned in this school of experience that it is not protection but anti-protection that is the robber of which we heard so much on the platforms of 1892. The working men of this country who were told in 1892 that protection was a burden and a tax on their labor, and that if they would only unite in supplanting protection with free trade for revenue only, then the opportunities for labor would broaden, wages would rise, and prosperity would crown every hilltop, are now calmly walking the streets, seeking labor in vain, or working at reduced wages. They have learned something in this Democratic kindergarten during the past two years. The people of this country have learned, as neither you nor I could have taught them two years ago, that protective duties on competing imports, equivalent to the difference of cost, of production and distribution, caused by higher wages, simply places competition on the basis of our wages rather than the wages of abroad; encourage production at home rather than over the seas, increase the opportunities of labor, enlarge wages and increase the purchasing and consuming power of the people on which our markets and our prosperity depend. The people of this country have learned another truth in this school of experience during the past two years, and that is, that the Republican party knows how to administer the financial affairs of this government, and that in this respect the Democratic party is a failure. Compare if you will the conduct of the financial affairs of this Nation during four years of gigantic war, during which more than six thousand millions of dollars were expended, and the conduct of our financial affairs during the subsequent period of recuperation and liquidation, with what has been going on in this country during the last two years, and tell me if you have any doubt of the fact which I have asserted. And there is reason for all this. The Democratic party, as we know it to-day, has been trained in opposition, in negation, in criticism, in tearing down. It has had

no training in building up. Its leaders for more than two decades have been catering to every mischievous idea that has been remote. (Applause.) And when they come into power, and responsibility was put upon them, they found that they had not been trained for the work which was before them. They could not unite upon any distinct policy and carry it out to success. On the other hand, the Republican party—the party of Abraham Lincoln—has been trained since its birth in responsibilities; it has been trained to legislate wisely; it has been trained to administer the affairs of government wisely. Tell me if, looking back upon the past, from 1861 to 1872, when the Republican party was voted out of power, if the history of the world affords an example of such policy, such efficiency, such wisdom, under the most difficult circumstances in administration and in legislation?

Now, Mr. President, there are able men, patriotic men, statesmenlike men in the Democratic party, and in Congress, but they are mighty lonesome. (Applause.) You ask me what of the future of the Republican party? Well, as the result of the last election, the people in this country have made the House of Representatives overwhelmingly Republican after the 4th of March next, although it will not meet in regular session until the first Monday of December next. But the Senate and the President still remain anti-Republican, and are likely to be such, certainly in part, until the election in 1896, when the people will perfect the good work already begun and give us a Republican Senate and a Republican President. (Applause.) In the meantime, although we cannot legislate affirmatively with the hope of co-operation by the Senate and approval by the Chief Executive, yet we can prevent more mischief being done, and the country, I am sure, will take heart in view of that prospect. I notice that some one here in New York in view of that prospect has proposed a day of thanksgiving on the fifth day of March. (Laughter.) Well, we will postpone perhaps that day of thanksgiving until we come into full possession of every department of Government. When that shall take place, be it earlier or later, the Republican party, in the language of the toast which you Mr. President, have proposed, will go forward in its work, and will not lower the Republican standard a single hair's breadth in any direction.

Some of our Democratic friends ask: Do you propose to re-enact the tariff law of 1890, schedule by schedule, and rate by rate? The question shows the confusion of mind, especially upon the tariff, which prevails among some of our Democratic friends. They seem to look upon the tariff as a mere assemblage of rates without rank and without reason; not as the embodiment of the principle, permanent and ever abiding, but changing as economic conditions change. It is no wonder after having framed the Wilson-Brice-Gorman-Smith, &c., tariff, that they are somewhat doubtful as to where they really stand. They have no principle that they are ready to put in law and carry to its ultimate effect when they come into power, though we find the recent tariff protecting those things that are produced in States necessary to the perpetuation of Democratic power and applying free trade or revenue only to the products of other States. When the Republican party shall come into power this discrimination will suddenly subside. The tariff of 1890 was framed on the principle of protection of thrift, and when applied was applied equally, whether the products were those of New York or South Carolina, but when we shall come into full power, wherever the Republican principle of protection has been set aside, it will be re-enacted, and we shall have a tariff enacted according to the economic conditions that shall then prevail, not that prevailed five, or ten, or twenty years ago, but the principle on which it will be based shall be that of protection of thrift. (Cheers and applause.)

As to the position of the Republican party on financial questions I need but point to the past. It will legislate in those directions that will embody principles of finance which are regarded the world over as sound and safe. To my mind, Mr. President, no more mischievous policy could have been adopted than that which the country has been subjected to during the past eighteen months. The policy of maintaining revenues less than expenditures and selling bonds to meet the deficiency. Why, within the last two weeks the deficiency of revenue of this Government under existing revenue law has exceeded three millions of dollars. Now, such a policy as that persisted in from month to month and from year to year, if it did not cause originally the run upon the treasury, has at least made practicable that successful run which has depleted the gold fund of the Government.

But it must be borne in mind that if the revenue during all this time had been equal to the expenditures, that then the demand notes of the Government had been redeemed in gold, that would not have been immediately paid out again to make the endless chain by which they could immediately be presented for redemption again. (Applause.) Suppose that instead of paying one hundred and six millions of these demand notes to meet deficiencies in the treasury, as we have been doing within the past eighteen months, they had been hoarded in the treasury. Does any one suppose that this could have been done without creating such a contraction of the currency, and such a scarcity of greenbacks, as would at once have stopped the presentation of demand notes for redemption? This policy, Mr. President, is the indefensible policy which has been the source of our woes, and enough other difficulties have come in to intensify the situation; yet, if this had not existed, it is doubtful if distress would have been inaugurated; that if it had been inaugurated that it would have continued to the extent to which it has proceeded. The Republican party insists that in time of peace all revenue shall be made equal to expenditure. (Applause.) That bonds shall not be issued for the purpose of meeting a deficiency, but that expenses should be supplied by the constant revenue. It must be evident to the intelligent business men who I see before me, that the causes of our present difficulties are not worldwide, but local, and I think they have their origin largely in an abandonment of those Republican principles which during so many years maintained revenue equal to or even superior to expenditure, and not in allowing the gold redemption fund to drop below the minimum of safety—one hundred millions of dollars. If there is any doubt that this is not a local rather than a world-wide difficulty, let me call your attention to the fact that gold to-day while leaving this country is accumulating in the financial centres of Europe. On first day of January, the seven leading national banks of Europe had two hundred millions more of gold than they had one year ago. There is no more reliable barometer of the course of trade than the bank clearings; and let me call your attention to the fact that the bank clearings in London in the year 1894 were substantially the same as in the year 1892, while the bank clearings in New York were one-third less in 1894 than in 1892. And the bank clearings in January of the present year in London were

fifteen per cent. more than in January, 1892, while the bank clearings in New York were thirty-five per cent. less in January, 1894, than in January, 1892. This biting fact dissipates the suggestion that has been made in many quarters that the world's attitude towards silver, and not local causes, has produced the difficulties which stare us in the face. (Applause.) The striking fact, Mr. President, which I invite this assemblage of business men to consider, is that from 1879, when we resumed specie payments, up to 1892, when this country voted to overthrow the policy which had prevailed for thirty-one years, the revenue in time of peace had exceeded the expenditures; that the gold redemption fund had never for a single hour fallen below one hundred million dollars, the minimum which public sentiment sets between safety and destruction, and that during this time our production was increasing, opportunities for labor were widening, wages were rising, and the country was enjoying a prosperity such as no country on earth ever before enjoyed. It must be evident from this state of facts that the remedy for the existing difficulties is to be found in the sentiment, Mr. President, which you have proposed for the foundation for my remarks: "Fidelity to Republican Principles" in the present exigency. (Applause.) But, Mr. President, I have already used up the time which has been assigned to me and I may close with the sentiment in which we shall all unite, the Republican party, the saviour of the Union in its youth, the hope of the Republic in its maturity. (Cheers and prolonged applause.)



ADDRESS OF SENATOR BURROWS.

THE PRESIDENT:

The next regular toast is "Protection." The gentleman who is to respond to this toast needs no introduction to any Republican, or any New York audience. You know him well: you have heard him often. One blast upon his bugle-horn is worth ten thousand votes. (Cries of "Good!" "good!") He comes here to-night, I regret to say, in flat defiance and rebellion against the orders of his physician. He has been told he must not come; but self-protection is no part of his doctrine of protection; and he has taken himself by the throat and brought himself to do honor to the memory of Lincoln, and to join with us in renewing our allegiance to the old Republican doctrine of protection for American industry. I have the honor to introduce to you one of the best fruits of the return of the old State of Michigan to the Republican party, the new Senator, the Honorable Julius C. Burrows. (Great applause.)

PROTECTION:

"A tariff of duties on imported goods, producing sufficient revenue for the payment of the necessary expenditures of the National Government, and so adjusted as to protect American Industry, is indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the American people."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

I am exceedingly fortunate in being called upon at this late hour when, I am sure, everybody will retire in a few moments, and bring my remarks to an abrupt close. My friend has alluded to a bugle-blast from my horn. My horn is out of repair (laughter), and as has been stated, I was permitted to come here this evening upon a solemn pledge that I would not say a word, and before I am through you will be satisfied that I have not. (Laughter.) I could not, however, forego the pleasure of being present on this occasion to meet the stalwart Republicans of

New York, on the celebration of the day made memorable by the illustrious Lincoln. But I thought I could escape entirely from any remarks; and I think I made a mistake in coming. As Lincoln once said, "I think I am a fool to come." (Laughter.) You remember that a Union officer once pestered Lincoln considerably day and night in beseeching him to make him a major-general in the Union Army. Finally, Lincoln said: "All right, my friend, I will make you a major-general," not knowing anything about the rules of military etiquette or military law; and so he gave him a note to Secretary Stanton, saying to Stanton, "Please make this colonel a major-general." (Laughter.) The gentleman, elated, as he naturally would be under such circumstances, hastened to the Secretary of War, and after being ushered into his presence Secretary Stanton said to him in a grave tone, "What do you want?" He says, "I have a note from the President of the United States, requesting you to commission me as a major-general of the volunteer forces of the United States." He passed it over to the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of War said to him, "get out of my office." (Laughter.) "But," he said, "Mr. Secretary, this note is from the President of the United States." He says, "I don't care if it is. You tell the President of the United States he is a D—fool." "Why, you don't mean to have me say to the President of the United States what you say?" "Yes, I do; and get out of my office." He went back to the President, and the President said, "I hope you have succeeded. I greet you as major-general of volunteers." He says, "No; you don't." (Laughter.) The President said "Well, did you see the Secretary of War?" "I did." "Well, what did he say?" "Well, Mr. President, I don't like to repeat what he said." (Laughter.) "Well, it doesn't make any difference," he says. "I know Stanton; tell me what he said." "Well, he said you was a D—fool." (Laughter.) "You don't mean to say that my Secretary of War said to you that I, the President of the United States was a D—fool?" "Yes, sir; that is just what he said." The President hesitated a moment. He says, "Well, I guess it must be so. Stanton must be right." (Laughter.) So, I think to-night I made a mistake, but I intend to keep my promise to my physician and not say but a word. We ought not to say much on this occasion. With the first sentiment responded to, "With malice towards none and charity for all," in these

times, for the sake of the Democratic party we ought to be quiet. (Laughter and applause.) Not only overwhelmed two years ago, but in every attempt at public administration they have succeeded in burying themselves out of sight for, I hope, the balance of this generation. They are very much in that condition, it seems to me, of the young man who, going West to visit relatives became mixed up with a cyclone which we sometimes have out in that country; and his friends telegraphed home to his parents that the young man was lost in a cyclone and severely injured. They telegraphed back to him to please forward the remains, C. O. D. They promptly wired back "There is no remains." (Laughter.) I think I better stop right here. (Cries of "Go on! "Go on!") The idea of discussing the tariff at 11 o'clock at night, after these eloquent speeches is too absurd.

The sentiment just proposed, uttered by Abraham Lincoln, and I do not think you heard it, I beg leave to repeat it, for, if any Republican was called upon to-day to write the doctrine of the Republican party on that question, he could not change one word or one syllable. (Cries of "Good!" Good!") "A tariff of duties on imported goods producing sufficient revenue for the payment of the necessary expenditures of the National Government and so adjusted to protect American industries is indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the American people." (Great applause.) What word would you change. And yet, Abraham Lincoln uttered that sentiment fifty years ago, if he uttered it at all, and I do not know whether he did or not. (Laughter.) It is in the toast as the words of Abraham Lincoln; and I presume he wrote it, although it is one of a series of resolutions offered at a Whig Convention in the City of Springfield, Illinois, in 1843; and I have some doubt as to the authenticity of the declaration, so far as Abraham Lincoln is concerned, because the same set of resolutions appointed Abraham Lincoln to draft an address to the Whigs of Illinois, and he would not be apt by reason of his modesty to appoint himself to that office. (Laughter.) Yet, it is true that he presented the resolutions to that Whig Convention, and, as I said, the first resolution is the one I have just read, and the second was akin to it. "We are opposed to direct taxation for the support of the National expenditures." (Great applause.) Direct taxation and protection cannot live side by side. (Applause.) He read these resolutions to the

Whig Convention, and it was resolved at that Convention that the Whigs of the various Congressional Districts of the State of Illinois should hold Whig Conventions, nominate candidates for Congress upon a Whig platform, and also elect delegates to a National Convention to assemble in 1844, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. Those times are so like the present I cannot forbear, gentlemen, to call your attention to a portion of the address which Abraham Lincoln, in connection with two other gentlemen, was authorized to draft and promulgate to the Whigs of the State of Illinois. This was on the first day of March, the assembling of this Convention, and on the fourth day of March the public address was issued to the Whigs of the State of Illinois; and will you pardon me if I read just a paragraph from that address. (Cries of "Let her go.") After citing in defence of the doctrine of protection the words of Jefferson, Jackson, and even Calhoun, the address proceeds and makes the following statement, and I have no doubt this address was prepared by Mr. Lincoln, himself. It sounds just like him.

"For several years past the revenues of the Government have been unequal to its expenditures, and consequently loan upon loan (laughter) has been resorted to." We have witnessed something like that in modern times. (Laughter.) "By this means a new national debt has been created, and is still growing on us, with a rapidity fearful to contemplate (laughter), a rapidity only reasonably to be expected in times of war. This state of things has been produced by a prevailing unwillingness either to increase the tariff or resort to direct taxation; but the one or the other must come. Coming expenditure must be met and the present debt must be paid, and money cannot always be borrowed for these objects. The system of loans is but temporary in its nature and must soon explode. (Laughter.) It is a system not only ruinous while it lasts, but one that must soon fail and leave us destitute. As an individual who undertakes to live by borrowing soon finds his original means devoured by interest, and next no one left to borrow from, (laughter) so must it be with the Government." Could any thing be more apt to our present condition? This was a result of the tariff of 1832, and the awful disaster of 1837. And then, speaking of direct taxation, which may not be wholly uninteresting to the people of New York (laughter), "by the

direct tax system the land must be literally covered with assessors." I have a blank form in my pocket. (Great laughter.) I am looking up my books for the last year. I am notified that I must return by the 1st of March, or it will be made up by the assessor who does not know anything about it, and doubled. (Laughter.) "The land must be literally covered with assessors and collectors going forth like swarms of Egyptian locusts devouring every blade of grass and every green thing." (Great laughter and applause.) (Cries of "Go on!" and "Lincoln wrote that sure.") Lincoln wrote that. There is not any question about it. How like that is the condition to-day. And this leads me, if you will pardon me, to say one thing on this question of protection.

The policy of free trade in the history of this Government was never inaugurated and adhered to without bringing universal disaster, national bankruptcy and individual ruin. (Great applause.) It was tried, and one of the most marvelous things is that the people two years ago abandoned the policy of protection and went to the policy of free trade. All history cried out against it, and the wisdom of the fathers denounced it. We tried it before the adoption of our Constitution, when we were living under the Articles of Confederation, when absolute free trade was given to every state, and it is a recorded fact of history that it was that condition of things more than anything else that led to the Revolution, and the establishment of our national government with power in a great national authority to regulate commerce with foreign nations. (Great applause.) We started out on a career of protection; but in 1816, we went over to free trade, and with it came disaster—such a disaster, that Henry Clay said, before the adoption of the tariff of 1824: "If I was called upon to name seven years of the most widespread disaster which this country ever saw, it would be the seven years immediately preceding the tariff of 1824." We tried it again in 1832, and with it came the awful panic of 1837, with national bankruptcy and individual disaster. We tried it again in 1846, and with it came the disaster of 1857. So, I say, history records that we never entered upon this policy of free trade that it did not bring universal distress and disaster to the American people and the national treasury. (Applause.) On the contrary, we never adopted the policy of

Abraham Lincoln, of protection to American industries, that with it did not come immediate prosperity and universal blessing. From the disaster of 1816 to 1824, we adopted a protective tariff in 1824 and 1828, and this nation sprang to its feet with a bound, and all its industries revived, and its national treasury was overflowing. So, by the protective tariff of 1842, so by the protective tariff of 1861; and while I can assert without fear of contradiction that every era of protection in this country has been an era of prosperity, and every area of free trade has been an era of disaster, I want to assert here publicly to-night, that history records no single instance of a revival of our industries or a restoration of prosperity until the nation abandoned its policy of free trade, and went back to protection. (Great applause.) As it has been in history, so it will be under present conditions. And I want to say to you, gentlemen, to-night, you may philosophize as you please; you may philosophize as to the currency as you please; you may borrow money until the treasury is overflowing; you may resort to direct taxation until you fill the coffers of the national exchequer; with it all there will be no prosperity until you give protection to American industries. (Great applause.) Borrowing money is not the remedy. Direct taxation is not the remedy. You can apply direct taxation and assess the incomes of this people, and I notice in their bill they limit it to five years, supposing, I suppose, under this bill at the end of the five years there will be no income. (Laughter.) You may do all that, and follow the policy of free trade, and you will have nothing but disaster and ruin. I believe in protection. I am a protectionist from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet. I believe in that declaration of Abraham Lincoln, and I believe, as sure as the sun rises to-morrow, that returning prosperity will not come to this people until the Republican Party comes back to power and inaugurates the policy. (Great applause.) (Cries of "Go on!" "Go on!") But some gentleman says: "Are you in favor of McKinleyism?" The Democratic Party is a peculiar party. They have beaten us several times with epithets. It was only necessary for that party to cry reform, without knowing what it meant to carry the people with them. Force Bill carried the people. Billion-Dollar Congress. They had one right after, that beat that.

(Laughter.) And now they are already raising the cry of McKinleyism. Well, as said by my friend from Maine, Gov. Dingley, what do you mean by McKinleyism. I feel a little sensitive about that subject myself, for I happened with Governor Dingley, to be on the Committee of Ways and Means, and helped create that McKinleyism, and I for one do not propose to be frightened by any cry of "McKinleyism." (Applause.) Whenever, the Republican Party becomes a coward it courts defeat. (Cries of "That's right!" and great applause.) If you mean by McKinleyism that the Republican Party when it comes back to power, as it will in 1896 (applause); if you mean that we will re-write the McKinley law on the statute books, nobody says that. For the ever-varying industrial conditions of this country make a tariff law that was applicable last year inapplicable to-day. But there is one thing the Republican Party will do when it comes back into power: It will write a tariff bill, every word of which, from the opening to the close, will be on the line of protection to every American industry. (Great applause.) If our friends on the other side think that is McKinleyism, all right. (Laughter.) I am not authorized to speak for the Republican Party, or any part of it, but I speak for myself, when I say, for one I will not lower the Republican standard one iota in the defence of American industries when I get a chance. (Great applause.) Say what you please of the McKinley Bill, one thing can be said with all your criticism: that bill never put out a furnace fire in the United States (Cries of "Good!" "Good!" and applause), never closed a factory, or shut a mine, or drove one laboring man into the street. (Great applause.) Now, we must not be frightened by any cry of McKinleyism. The Republican Party has come back to rule, and to stay if it is true to itself. (Applause.) If it is cowardly, it will be defeated, and it ought to be defeated. (Cries of "Right!" "Good!" "Good!" and applause.) Now, I do not mean to say that I am a high protectionist, although you might gather from what I say that I am in favor of protection. (Laughter.) I believe in taking care of our own people first (applause), and when we have our own people provided for I will look out for the rest of mankind. (Laughter.) I believe in my country, her industries, her people and her flag, against the whole world. (Cries of "Good!" "Good!" and applause.)

But what that tariff will be I think we all know. I would shut nobody out of our market. I would let the whole world come here, but so long as conditions vary in this country and abroad, while I would consent that the world come into our market, I would insist always that they shall come in on our level and on the level of our homes and our industries (great applause), and I would never consent to compete with them on their level. (Great applause.) That is the kind of a protective tariff I believe in. Now, when the Republican Party comes back to power, that is the kind of tariff we will inaugurate, and it will revive our industries; it will relight the fires of our furnaces; it will open our mines; it will touch the corpse of our dead industries, and they will spring to new life. We won a great victory, two years ago, and that victory, my fellow citizens, if we but follow it up, is decisive, and is the end of the folly of free trade in this country. We carried not only the North, for I am happy to state that the rolls of the next House of Representatives from the Northern States bear but thirteen free-traders from the whole North. But we not only did that: we invaded the solid South, and broke it forever upon the doctrine of protection. (Applause.) If you will carry this war into the South on the line of protection, and that alone, and let every other country alone, the solid South will be with us on the doctrine of protection. We have with us to-night at my left, or did have—I see it is my right—a living specimen, Senator Elkins, of the breaking of the solid South. (Great applause.) He stands as a representative of a solid South, broken upon this great industrial question. If we are true to that principle, and that alone, and true to ourselves, the South will fall into line upon this great question of protection to American industries and American labor. I have been in the South. The sentiment of protection exists everywhere. I tell you there is a new South, born, it is true, of the throes of war, but full of hope and full of courage. She stands to-day with uplifted brow facing the dawn of a mighty future beneath her feet; she feels the star of a new life; her loins are girded for a new race; her heavens are glowing with the light of blazing furnaces; her zenith is already accomplished with the dawn of a new day. Be true to the principle of protection and the victory is sure;

and I speak for protection not only for the North, but for the South. The dawning is near at hand.

Aid that dawning,
Tongue and pen;
Aid it hopes of honest men;
Aid it paper; aid it type;
Aid it; for the hour is ripe;
And our earnest must not slacken into play.
Men of thought and men of action clear the way.

(Cheers and applause.)



ADDRESS OF MAYOR STRONG.

THE PRESIDENT:

Oh! for a Michigan sore throat, with a Michigan brain above it. The Chair appoints General Collis, General Hedges, General Thomas, General Hubbard, Colonel Vedder and Major Cilley, a Committee to settle with that doctor.

Now, gentlemen, I propose to call before you a practical illustration of the home market which the doctrine of protection involves, a specimen of the kind of product, all-wool and a yard-wide, which the home market of New York produces, and call for one word from our Mayor. (Great applause.)

Three cheers were then given for Mayor Strong.

MAYOR STRONG:

Mr. President, and fellow members of the Republican Club: I never knew there was so much wisdom in the members of the Republican Club, as I have learned this evening. You chose wisely and well, when you chose your President at your last election. (Applause.) And I doubt if he ever displayed as much wisdom in his life as he has this evening in calling upon me, because he knows that I have been talking since the 2d day of January, from about ten o'clock in the morning until about four o'clock in the afternoon, and he is very sure I will not say much to-night. In looking around the banquet table this evening, I did not recognize many faces that have honored me with a call in the Mayor's office (laughter), and I take it for granted that there is nothing there that is worth your attention. I believe, however, that everyone of you knows how to write. (Laughter.) The usual phraseology of a class of letters I have received, that we are opposed to signing any petition, but whenever you do see our names attached to any petitions, unless it is accompanied or followed right off by a letter, pay no attention to it. (Laughter.) That is what I am doing. (Laughter.)

We have a good many pleasant incidents in the Mayor's office, and the man that has charge of me down there (laughter), and indulges in the name of my Private Secretary, although I think it might be reversed, is getting a sign painted. As you know, some time in December I was invited to a little function, held at the Union League Club, to Governor Morton, and I couldn't get there, and the papers announced that I had rheumatic gout, and I couldn't attend, which was true, perhaps. I have now, or this man who has charge of me down there, is getting a sign painted, no more rheumatic gout remedies needed in this office. (Laughter.) We have only had about fifty-five so far, since the function of the Union League Club, and the Mayor is entirely cured, I suppose (laughter), at least it is not for the want of remedies that have been sent in, anyhow.

I do not know that the Republican Club needs any of its members or wants any of its members to talk this evening. We like to hear the orations delivered to us by our Western friends, as well as our Eastern friends. We came here this evening, members of the Republican Club, to do honor to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, and to hear our distant friends from different parts of this country tell us that he is now still living, and is moving on, just the same as the day he was assassinated. (Applause.) We know that his name has ceased to belong to us. It now belongs to the world. A year ago this evening, in Hong Kong, seventeen Americans collected together and invited about twenty-five natives, and had just such a dinner as we are having this evening to celebrate the memory of Abraham Lincoln. And in Tokio, twenty-three Americans with two hundred Japs got together at a banquet, to celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, and I doubt if there is a place on this globe where his name is not revered as much as it is in the Republican Club of the City of New York.

Now, Mr. President and gentlemen, I thank you for the hearty reception you have given me, and I hope that in the future, some time in the dim future, or very near future, I shall have the pleasure of an invitation again to the Republican Club. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF HON. J. SLOAT FASSETT.

THE PRESIDENT:

The next regular toast is "The State of New York." I need not introduce to you the gentleman who is to respond to that. The most dignified body on the face of this earth is the Supreme Court of the United States. When the Court sits, the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court file in and takes their places upon the bench. The Crier opens the Court that "God save the United States and this Honorable Court;" the counsellors at the bar are expected to dress in severe and formal costume; every act and word is dignified and courteous, and formal and severe. Many years ago that Court was startled, as it never has been before, or since, upon seeing arise before it, a man from the country, who wore no collar. The Marshal remonstrated with him, and he explained that he had an attack of gout in the throat. This toast will be responded to by the Hon. Jacob Sloat Fassett.

THE STATE OF NEW YORK:

"Our safety, and the safety of all the States, depends upon all acting in good faith and living up to that great principle which asserts the right of every people to regulate their own institutions to suit themselves, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

MR. FASSETT:

Mr. President, and fellow members of the Republican Club of the City of New York: It is exceedingly unpleasant to appear before you to-night with an apology, but unfortunately for myself I am suffering from an old-fashioned neuralgic headache. I ought not to try to speak. In fact I shall not try to deliver anything approaching the dignity of an address. I will, however, out of loyalty to my promise, talk to the toast which your President has given me.

My toast is, "The State of New York." It might have been, the Republican State of New York, this fall. But such is not the language of the toast. The State of New York has filled a great part in the history of this nation. A brilliant French writer once said of France, "France is the soldier of God". His idea was, that she had experimented in different forms of government; had scored successes, and experienced mistakes, all for the benefit of the entire race. In like manner, New York State has been the soldier of God, for the sisterhood of States in this country. In the process of evolution and development, States develop in their citizens a definite and recognizable character. New York State, in its short history, has developed in its citizenship a character that is superb. With good-natured complacency, New Yorkers not only tolerate but encourage associations of New Englanders and Germans, and Irish and Frenchmen—all sorts of associations, in fact—to assemble in our midst and boast of their accomplishments, their characteristics, their traditions, and all that they have done for the race. We are complacent, because through it all we know that whatever is best in what all these countries and these nationalities have developed we have appropriated and absorbed into ourselves.

New York is not a boastful State, nor are New Yorkers boastful people, but our citizens have the right to be proud of the history of their magnificent commonwealth. As a State, she has never from the beginning been a boaster, but she has always been a worker—a worker for mankind; a worker for all the higher humanities; a worker along the lines of the best thought of the passing years. It is not alone so to-day—it has always been so. It was so in the old colonial days, before New York entered upon the dignity of statehood, and before we had a nation. Our contributions to the cause of liberty have been made generously, but modestly. Scant justice has been done to the work accomplished for liberty by the State of New York. Much that our New England friends have credited to themselves as matters of boasting and of pride should by just rights be credited to the sturdy Dutchman of Manhattan Island. My friend, Judge Thurston, the eloquent orator from Nebraska, to-night has told you that the Constitution of the United States was the first instrument to acknowledge that

the people were the source of all power. He was mistaken. It was the State of New York, one hundred and nine years ago, in her first-written Constitution, who first officially taught that principle to the world. It was first laid down here in the neighboring city of Kingston by New Yorkers, met to formulate their first organic charter, that the people were the only proper source of political power. And to that principle New York has always been loyal; always, with enough exceptions to prove the rule. Blessed be her name, she has recently returned with great vehemence and enthusiasm to a new profession of her old faith.

But there is more to her credit. On this Island, in this City, was first permanently established freedom of religious worship. Here was first permanently established officially the right of petition. Here was first permanently established the right of a free press to freely utter its sentiments without a public censorship. Thus New York State started out in her career of statehood by establishing herself firmly and forever upon the sure foundation of those peculiar institutions which have characterized what we call true Americanism.

New York has never been failing to the cause of freedom nor to the cause of the country in times of crisis. To the Revolution she furnished such men as Jay, Morris, and Hamilton. To the Rebellion she furnished such men as the great Secretary William H. Seward. She has never failed to furnish for the service of the State a generous quota of men who were abreast of the highest and best aspirations of the time. The history of the progress achieved in science, literature and art in the United States cannot be written without including the achievements of the sons of New York State in all these departments of interest, and she has always led in every great and good public work.

New York, moreover, was the birthplace of the Republican party. Here were its earliest and most earnest advocates. The Republican party was born here, because within the limits of this State there flourished the most liberal institutions, and the State at large has always been loyally true to the party to which it gave birth. New York State, north of the Harlem River, is the largest and most densely populated area in the United States which has always and invariably, under all cir-

cumstances, been the most loyally Republican in the United States. No matter what whims Michigan may have had; no matter what diversions from the path of duty unhappy Kansas may have pursued; no matter what changes may have swept over locust-burdened Nebraska, rural New York has always been proudly, loyally, firmly Republican. Our fidelity to principle and to truth has brought with it its natural and inevitable reward. Out of the wilderness upon which our ancestors looked New Yorkers have made the Empire State, for it is an Empire State. This is said in no spirit of idle boasting. It is our just due. I need not enforce the claim by a long array of dry statistics about the thousands of miles of railroads, about the commercial importance of the Erie Canal. I need not remind you that we have the heaviest banking interests in the United States, the largest life insurance establishments in the world; that we have forty-four of the finest cities in the United States; that we have the largest city, and that we are going to make it twice as large in a few months. These things you know. I need not point you to another proof that New York State is the Empire State, which lies in the fact that to her and her queenly cities are constantly attracted the best brains and most earnest hearts of the country. As men develop supremacy in any department in all the cities of the Union, they invariably turn their eyes toward New York as the Mecca to which some day they will make their pilgrimage.

New York is the real center of the work-a-day world. To be sure she does not call herself the Hub, as Boston does; she is the Hub. New York has not expended all her energies of growth and progress upon herself. She has, at some time or another, furnished Governors for every State west of the Mississippi river. She has, at some time or another, furnished United States Senators for every State west of the Ohio river; and to-day there are a dozen of her sons in that most distinguished deliberative assembly. New York has furnished the men and money and brains and courage for nearly every great public and private enterprise which has marked and created the unparalleled development of the North-west. New York, in times of great peril and crisis, has put her broad shoulders without a murmur or shudder under the weakening forms of

every other State and of every other city in the Union. No community ever called to her for help in vain. Even proud Chicago, who has so often busied herself in saying hard things of New York City, has been obliged to come to her for help, and has never come in vain; and when she cast off many of her dependent bankers in the great West during the hard times of 1893 and 1894, New York generously came to the rescue. No city was ever invaded by fire or nation by earthquake or famine that the great heart of New York was not touched, and responded to the call. Sometimes we are spoken of disparagingly by those further west and north-west, many of them our own children, but New York never responds by any sign of impatience or spirit of retaliation. She is too intent on doing good to take to heart unmerited abuse.

She has not only furnished the Governors and Senators and financiers for many of her sister States, but she has furnished to them the framework of their constitutions. The constitution of every State in the Union has been modified by the Constitution of the State of New York, and the constitution of every State west of the Ohio river has been formed upon the Constitution of the Empire State. We have furnished them, in addition to their constitutions, with their forms of law and legal procedure. To us belongs the credit of having revolutionized the form of legal procedure, not only for America but for the English-speaking world, and wherever New York's name is known she has impressed herself for the benefit of men upon all the institutions which govern and enlighten men. The name of Field may not be known, but his heart and brain are throbbing to-day in the methods of judicature of every English-speaking, and many foreign-speaking, nations.

In the development of this country, in its material resources, in the development of those forms of law which constitute our best guarantees of progress under liberty, and liberty without license, in methods of procedure and forms of organic law, New York State stands first. Virginia has been called the mother of Presidents. New York is the mother of States. The stamp of New York is all over this country, wander where you will—north, east, south, west. Whether you are willing to acknowledge it or not, you have been brought up, educated, inspired, subject at all times to forces

originating in the great State of which you and I are proud to be citizens, for it is a proud thing to be a citizen of the State of New York. We have not made much fuss about it. We have gone quietly on our way without ostentation or pretence, but any thoughtful man or citizen who will take up the book of the history of any State in this Union and ask who were its founders, who instituted its great reforms, who formulated its Constitution and its Laws, who established the methods of administration of its great eleemosynary institutions, will discover in answer in a great majority of instances that the names were those of New Yorkers, New Yorkers, New Yorkers. We have not boasted. We do not need to boast. There our record stands, and it challenges investigation. All that New York has accomplished has not been accomplished by accident. The over-ruler of us all has fixed it in the fates that a State progresses only in proportion as its citizens live in harmony with their highest possibilities. Our fathers founded this State in a love of law and love of liberty and love of human equality. We have taken no step upward and forward which has not been in accordance with that original foundation, and we never shall. There is no stand-still in progressive society. We as a community must either move forward or move backward. Under the guidance of the Republican party a year ago the State of New York pledged itself to the forward and upward movement, casting off the shackles of old tradition and spurning under foot all forms of political bossism and corruption. Last fall the State, under the same leadership, again renewed the pledge. In this city by the unprecedented majority of 45,000, in the State by the tremendous majority of 150,000, a great trust was bestowed upon the Republican party. Are we Republicans going to be faithful to that trust? Are we going to fulfill the pledges which we made? Are we going to rise up to the full measure of the generous confidence given to us as Republicans last fall, and a year ago last fall by the people of this State? Are we going to live up to the highest plane of our aspirations, and give to the people in as generous measure as they gave to us? Are we going to accomplish the reforms which we have been promising for twenty years? Are we going to fulfill the people's expectations, cherished in vain through twelve years of Democratic

administration? Or, are we going, under the leadership of short-sighted and mistaken men, to make the fatal error of seeing how near we can come to disappointing the people without being obliterated ourselves at the next turn of the tide. By all that New York stands for in teaching the other States how best to govern and how best to live, you and I are charged to see to it that our party which now has possession of our powers of statehood, our party which we represent, and which in turn should represent the people, shall keep their faith, shall fulfill their trust, shall not fail by one jot or one tittle in meeting generously the expectations which the people entertain because they had a right to entertain them. ("Good! Good!" and applause.)

We have met here to-night to do honor to liberty's greatest martyr. He was a plain, unassuming, American citizen; strong, rugged, true, honest, straightforward. The people by long experience learned to know, to love and trust him. What is the greatest lesson of his life? It seems to me it is that he knew and sought to know the plain people of his country; to discover their emotions, their aspirations and their desires; to anticipate their wants, and then himself to work in that direction. Abraham Lincoln never availed himself of organization or discipline to cheat or disappoint the people. Laying his great hand upon the pulse of the people, his pulse beat in unison with it. It is a good thing for us to-night, as Republicans, to remember that there is no use of any attempt, no matter by whom made nor from where coming, to disappoint the people who have trusted us. It may be there are none who want to make such an attempt; but if it should be that there are, let me say here to-night, that such men will come to grief just as surely as our victory came to us last fall. We hear a great deal said about reformers who are impracticable and who are dreamers; men who are aspiring to that which is unattainable and impossible. Theoretical men, chasers of rainbows, believers in vagaries. I tell you, looking back down the centuries, the only practical men have been these same dreamers and reformers, judged by the work which has been accomplished in the process of the ages; and the only dreamers and the only chasers after rainbows and true believers in delusions have been those hard, scheming plotters and conspirators who regarded themselves as so safely intrenched behind power entrusted them by others that they could afford to defeat the will and purposes

of God and the people. As Republicans, let us dream on; let us aspire on; let us look forward and look upward. Trusting to the people who have trusted us, let us endeavor to succeed by deserving to succeed. Let us be content with no condition which holds us back; let us be lifted upward and forward on the crest of every wave of warm, true impulse that pushes men nearer to God and to heaven. This is the only practical way to administer our duties and fulfill our trusts as practical Republican politicians. What is that which Lowell says?

“History’s pages but record one death grapple in the

Darkness betwixt old systems and the Word:

Truth forever on the scaffold; wrong forever on the throne;

Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch upon His own.”

(Great applause.)



ADDRESS OF REV. EDWIN C. BOLLES, D.D.

THE PRESIDENT:

Gentlemen: The last regular toast will be responded to by Rev. Dr. Edwin C. Bolles.

"PULPIT PATRIOTS AND THE WAR."

"The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

DR. BOLLES:

Mr. President and members of the New York Republican Club: I was under honorable contract to deliver a speech to this Club yesterday. I believe that days of grace have been abolished, and if so, my speech has gone to protest. I should be most happy if you would allow me to report in print. And when I remember the magnificent addresses to which you have listened to-night, I can only recall to mind a mere professional story. A negro preacher was addressing his congregation on the subject of the loaves and fishes, and he said, "my brethern, the Master fed these disciples of his on three thousand loaves and five thousand fishes." (Laughter.) "Well", said one of his auditors, "Where did the miracle come in?" "The miracle", said he, "Why the miracle was that they didn't bust." (Laughter.) I think such a miracle has been worked upon patient auditors of the Republican Club to-night. (Laughter.)

The toast which you have called upon me to answer reminds me in one respect of a thing which does not enliven an after-dinner speech. It seems to class me with the patriarchs, whose memories are more active than their hands. Almost a generation,

more than a generation—has passed away since the Civil War began, and, as to clergymen in the war, I am asked to give you a few memories to-night. I can only say, gentlemen, that in spite of the lateness of the hour I feel very much at home with you, for in the first place, the first vote which I ever cast was for Abraham Lincoln for President. (Cries of "Good!" "Good!" and Applause.) I had just reached my majority. I had been forced to leave my home in the South, on account of an unpleasantness which I need not mention here (laughter), and I acquired my residence in the North for a sufficient time to cast that vote. And I feel among you, gentlemen, at home for another reason, although I have no political accomplishments or aspirations. You have fallen a great deal in the ways of the clergymen. Your practical politicians make a good deal more than a parable out of those loaves and fishes (laughter), and there is no comparison between the fervor of the prophets and the anxious and heated prognostics of your editors that the last day will come, and the Republic will go to pieces, if there is any falling off in the Republican vote. I am glad to be here to-night, to speak of that time which lies so far behind us—a troubled time which has left its indelible records upon the hearts of men who lived in those days, just as it left honorable but indelible scars upon the veterans who fought at the front. (Applause.) We looked out over that stormy sea lashed into fury by a new and unexpected tempest, hoping, fearing, praying, while we wondered if the old Ship of State would founder or come safe into port; just as during the last week we have followed the fortunes of that missing Atlantic steamer, only to-day in safety at her dock. But that old Ship of State came in safely after all—not under convoy of other vessels, flying an alien flag; not under the guidance of friendly tugs—she came under her own sail and with the Republican Party on deck. (Applause.) That party was not the same party that it was, when in 1860, it had the fortune to forbear the hostile or the timid politics of that year, that seated Abraham Lincoln in the Presidential chair. It had learned much; it has done great things since then; it has amid that confusion established a public credit under Chase and Fessenden and Chittenden; it had built a navy, the beginning of the iron armament of to-day; it had graduated with Seward from the most difficult school of diplomacy; it had created a great War Secretary

whose words set in motion an army such as the world had never seen; it had guided the hand whose simple signature made millions free; and better than all, in the moment of its supreme victories, it had shown a temper of moderation and dignity and a spirit of forgiveness such as never crowned the issue of civil war before. (Applause.) With such a record, is it any wonder that impulse lived for more than thirty years? Is it any wonder that to-day, when the least breath out of the sky settles down upon the water, it can raise a tidal wave that shall carry the same old party to victory? The Republican Party was born out of the patriotism, out of the fidelity, out of the self-sacrifice which had no nobler illustrations than in the ranks of the clergy of that day. (Applause.) Among the records of the war, we must always write among the names of those who were distinguished and honorable, certain names which belong to the Church. Edward Everett Hale wrote a story, "The Man without a Country", which was worth a hundred regiments to the Union army. Thomas Star King, in California, by his silver eloquence, by his magnetic patriotism, held the whole Pacific Coast loyal to the Union. Henry W. Bellows, in this very city, organized beside the army that fought for the Union, the army that bled and suffered, the army that gave its life for you and me, another army just as great and just as sacred, of relief, of consolation and of hope. (Great applause.) And aside from this, there were a hundred thousand other men in the church, unknown perhaps by name, but each only following according to his talents and his opportunities, the place of a Christian and an American patriot. These men shouldered their muskets in the ranks, or they went as chaplains or friends of the soldier to the front; they followed the recruiting officers and added their persuasions to every patriotic call; they flung the flag out from their church spires that it might wave over the boys that went marching to the front, and they draped that flag around their pulpit whereon rested the word of God. They spoke words of comfort, words of courage, words of hope to the people; although the public blood might be chilled by the disasters of the Peninsula, or by the repulse at Fredericksburg. Wherever you found a minister, there you found a man devoted above all others to that land to which he owed his liberty of conscience, those institutions which were the defense of his religious liberty, that flag which was as sacred to him in those days as the

emblem of the Cross. (Great applause.) The rebels used to say that the ministers made the war. They did not make the war any more than they made the universe. What they did do was to preach righteousness; and in those early days before the Republican Party was born, the office of a prophet was not a desirable or pleasant one. (Laughter.) He had to fight with the entrenched prejudices of the age, with the supremacy of the slave-holding South; with the timid conservation of his own people. Further South in the land of barbarism they mobbed and they lynched him when they could. I can never be too proud that my last voice, it was the voice of a retiring fugitive in the South, was a plea for the Union against the bloody declaration of Secession, made by one of the most favorite Calvinists of the Southern States. (Applause.) But at last the time had come. The Republican Party was born of those ideas which had been the burden of the pulpit for many years. The Constitution and the Bible were linked together. The cause of Liberty was the cause of that great party that swept the country with a cyclone of patriotism and brought on, after the terrible strain and strife of war, the peace and the glory of these later years. As I trace the course of the church in those years of war, there are some elements at once of sadness, some elements where comedy blends in its lighter threads the darker web of life.

In the first place let me remember that the office of the clergyman in those years was not unattended with circumstances of distress and want, and when you understand that in these times it was the clergyman who had no boom in business, who got no Government contract, who bought no bonds (laughter) when gold touched 250, and cotton cloth was one dollar a yard, he sent to the hospitals and to the freedmen everything he had except the clothes he had on, the only light upon his darkness was his merriment at the income tax; he laughed at that. (Laughter.) For the Lord always makes sure of putting the average clergyman under bonds to be unworldly by taking away from him all temptations of Mammon whatsoever. (Laughter.) Our office led us into a great many strange places. They said the women and the ministers stayed at home. Well, some of them did, and some of them did not. There were many of those who did chaplain's work in hospitals, and there were many women who went as angels of mercy to the lines in front. (Great applause.)

No American clergyman will ever be ashamed to have his name joined with that of Mary Livermore, who, more than Florence Nightingale, earned the thanks of our country for her devotion to its suffering sons, or Julia Ward Howe, whose "Battle Hymn of the Republic" put a new soul and gospel into the bugle call of a million men in arms. (Great applause.) Well, we had our home duties. There were women in misery; there were widows cast into poverty; there were children just made fatherless; and it was no less a duty and a privilege to support and to care for those sufferers than to stand in the blue line that faced the gray with the indomitable courage of the American soldiers. I was called to remember one of the funny things of the war. There was a woman that was said to be very poor, a woman whose husband had somehow disappeared. She was poor enough, that was evident on its face, and I began to inquire and ask her what was her husband's exact position in the army? She couldn't tell his regiment; she didn't know whether he was a cavalry man, or in the artillery. At last a gleam of intelligence lit up her face, and she said: "Well, I think they called him a bounty-jumper, sir." I had to inform her that in that branch of the service men earned no commission.

If Republics are traditionally ungrateful, Republicans ought not to be. They should remember a class of men who came to them, who asked for no gift at their hands; they are not found in Mayor's offices, nor in the lobbies of Congress; they have no pull on anything except on their purse strings for charity; but we wish you to remember, gentlemen, we who can look back to the ancient history of the war, that if you in your wisdom and strength of organization have so fairly interpreted our idea, have so carried into action those ideals that were born in us by the strain and stress of prayer and thought, all that we desire, and all that you can give us in gratitude or remembrance, is the power still of speaking our wise counsel, of cheering you on toward your victory, and of asking that still unselfishly and faithfully you remember the interests of the whole people. It is not much matter what we think about the tariff. Ministers generally do not get as far as imported goods in their expenditures and in their homes. (Laughter.) I do not think it is of much importance to us just who gets the offices as long as they are true and faithful men whom you call to be your standard bearers, but we ask

you to remember that if they stood by your side in those perilous days and gave you the hope and the consolation and the strength of the eternal right, that you will still remember that only as you lay your party foundations upon those things, only as your loyalty is built into the eternal foundations of God, can you stand for what, with Abraham Lincoln at its head, the Republican party has stood for in the days gone by. One of the effects of the war was to break down party lines in the church. It was not a question of creeds, but of deeds; it was not a definition of theology, but it was an evidence of manhood, and we came together, and we found that under all our varying shades of belief, Protestants and Catholics, if we were faithful to our country, there was one common heart and there was one flag that waved above our heads. (Great applause.) As you weld the iron in the heat and glow of a great furnace, so the church was welded into a brotherhood that has lasted ever since under those terrible heats and glows of the war. Abraham Lincoln was not without his value as a teacher of that higher religious life. No man cared less than he for the distinctive draperies, the ceremonials, the ritual, the confirmed confession of faith of the Church of Christ, no man cared less than he for the clothing of religion, and there was no man among all the millions who looked up to him for hope and guidance and comfort that was more true to the righteousness of God and fellowship and blessing of his fellow men than that great martyr of our native land. (Great applause.) For my own part, I do not know any church but that which he described so well and so graphically—a church with wide-open doors, with a perfect circle of brotherhood, with a practical service to the Lord, with the blessing and the inspiration of the indwelling of Christ.

I never saw Lincoln but once. It was in the darkest times of the war. McClellan was just changing his base upon the Peninsula. I was in Washington, and the darkness and despondency which rested upon that community and upon the land was beyond description. The very heavens seemed draped with black, and the skies dissolved in tears. I had been busy in the hospitals—I was in the Douglass Hospital that morning—and they were bringing in from the field hospital down there men of the cavalry who had been cut and shot, and wounded in every possible way. It was a terrible sight. Even the trained nurses

there shuddered as they washed those wounds and relieved those sufferers' pains. I went back to my hotel that night, and could not sleep. I saw still the fortunes of my country in the balance, and those sights which I witnessed during the day came to me—those faces with their marks of torture and of pain—and I got up in the gray of the morning and went out for relief and for rest, to see if the free air would bring me comfort and cheer, and I walked down by the White House, and just as I came in front of it, Lincoln came to one of the windows early in the morning with that old, long, gray dressing gown, so well known to his intimate friends. He just stood and looked across the scene; his eyes saw neither me nor any object in the landscape. He was looking beyond me, beyond it all; he was looking into the future of his country; he was looking beyond those storm clouds. He was looking—oh, so wistfully—for some light to break athwart its desolation. That classic face; that majestic form; that patient, yet heroic sympathy; I shall never forget them while I live. As he stood there, it was as though he bore the burden of the world upon him—and the burden of the country was upon him. That great heart bore us all: the soldier at the front, and the widow in her desolate home; the Congress that waited and looked to him for suggestion and for help; the officers of the Government; the interests of his country; all were upon that mighty heart. I shall never forget my one sight of Abraham Lincoln, and, gentlemen, if you will permit the thought—it is just so that his great soul looks down out of the Eternities upon us now; it is just so that he serves the country which he loved so well, and for which he indeed gave his life. I would have given ten years of my existence if I could have brought a smile upon that patient, watchful face. We can make that face smile if we are faithful to the principles by which he lived, to the inheritance of thought, and of patriotism which he has left to us, and if there is any hope that we may so enter unto that great life to make its immortal joy the brighter, it lies with you and with me that where our duty points, where our vocation or profession or political faith calls, where the interests of the people demands our service, where a broad and generous patriotism leads the way, we follow, ministers and people, old and young, with voice and with vote, to preserve that Union in its dignity and in its promise, and in its hope as he left it, and to add, if we may, not to our own crown, the gems of our

loyalty and our service, but to his honor—whatever we may do for our flag and for our native land. (Great applause and cries of “Good!” “Good!”)

THE PRESIDENT :

Gentlemen : I have the honor to bid you a very good-night.



